1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

the executive officials of the tribe in peacetime became its military officers in time of war. There was no distinction made between the civil and military offices, since the tribe operated as an entity in both peace and war, and standing armies did not exist. (See Plate 34, bottom right.)

The soldiers were the able-bodied men of the tribe. The *telpuchcalli*, houses of youth, through which boys passed at the age of fifteen for formal instruction in the duties of manhood, taught them the usage of different weapons. Drill, in the sense of the accurate movements of modern troops, did not exist, but the great monthly ceremonies called for military demonstrations in which warriors showed their abilities and performed sham maneuvers. Each recruit followed an experienced warrior in battle, much as a mediaeval squire served an apprenticeship to a knight in full standing.

The chief offensive arms were wooden clubs, edged with sharp blades of obsidian, and the javelin, hurled by means of the *atl-atl*. Bows and arrows were used, but the heavier javelins were preferred for the close fighting of Aztec warfare. Slings and spears were weapons favored by some. For defensive armor shields of wickerwork covered with hide were most commonly in use, and some were elaborately painted or covered with feathers. The Aztecs also developed a body armor of quilted cotton, soaked in brine, which covered the whole body like an old-fashioned union suit. This was so effective a protection against clubs and missiles that the Spaniards rapidly adopted it, extolling it as cooler and lighter than steel armor.[1] Some warriors wore wooden helmets, which were elaborately carved to represent the insignia of the military orders. These had decorative rather than defensive values and added to the richness of costumes worn

X 796 nity, and, escorted by many captives to the pyramid of Uitzilopochtli, here this same one, before Uitzilopochtli, tore out the hearts of four captives. The rest he left, that the priest might slay them.

●[702] In this month the lord drew up a parade of all the warriors and of the young men who had never gone to war. These he gave arms and insignia, and they became soldiers; so that from then on they could go to war. Many other ceremonies were enacted in this feast, which are set forth at length in its account.

dole de muchos cautiuos al cu de Vitzilobuchtli: alli este mesmo delante de Vitzilobuchtli, sacana el coraçon a quatro cautiuos: y los de mas dexaualos para que los matasse el sacrapa.

En este mes hazia alarde el señor de toda la gente de guerra: y de los mancebos que nũca auian ydo a la guerra: a estos daua armas y diujsas, y asentauan por soldados: para que de alli adelante fuessen a la guerra. Otras muchas cerimonjas se hazian en esta fiesta que estan a la larga puestas en su historia

side; some had long hair; some already had hair wound about the head.[9] They bound the cobs of maize in groups of seven; these were the clusters [of cobs of maize]. They wrapped them in red paper, and painted them with liquid rubber; and they sprinkled on them drops of liquid rubber.

And they painted the young girls' arms and legs with red feathers; they painted their faces, fastening [on them] two [circles of] fish paste[10] flecked with iron pyrites on both sides, on their cheeks.

Then, they accompanied the young girls, who carried upon their backs the dried maize, also called Cintecotl. They kept going before them; they went surrounding and encircling them, looking on fascinated. Some of those crowded about looked upon them; [some] looked fixedly at them; some joked with them.

And if anyone was merry with one of them, they chid him. They said unto him:

"Verily, he with the long [tangled] hair of a youth also speaketh! Dost thou indeed speak? Be thou concerned over how may be removed thy tuft of hair, thou with the long hair! Thou with the evil-smelling, stinking forelock, art thou not only a woman like me? Nowhere hath thy excrement [yet] been burned."[11]

Some answered her and said unto her:

"[What thou sayest] is good. I am going. I. I know that it is true and verity; thou hast done well. Now also shalt thou go. Anoint thy stomach with mud; scratch thy stomach; twist one leg about the other and fall to the earth; drop upon the dust. There is a stone, a rough one; strike thy face therewith, that blood may spurt forth; scratch thy nose with the stone; or bore a hole with a fire drill into thy windpipe, that thou mayest spit through it. Be on thy way; go as thou likest."

And although these words were thus expressed by

ie omatlauh: chichicumolol in quijlpia, icheual yn ocholli caica, cumaquentia, tlauhio, colxaca: yoan conolchichipitza.

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Auh in ichpopuchti, tlapalleiutica quinpotonja, in inmac, ynicxic, yoi quiuxaoaia, ovme quinpalhuja chapopoli apetztzo, tlaapetzujlli, tlaapeztiotilli: necoccampa in camatepa.

[302]

Niman ie ic quiuuica yn ichpopuchti, quimamatiuj in cintli, no cinteutl motocaiotiaia: ymixpā hicatiuj, quintepeuitiuj, quimololhujtiuj, comixtli invic: aiac in maca quimjtta, quincocemjtta, aiac quincamanalhuja.

Auh intla aca tecamanalhuja, quioalaoa quioalilhuja:

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no uellatza in cuexpalle, vel teh titlatza? ma ie ic xitlaocuja, quen uetzic in mocuexpal, cuexpaltone? cuexpaliiac, cuexpalpoto, amo çan tinocioapo? acan motlachinauja mocujtl.

Cequintin quioalcuepaia, quioaia

ca ie qualli, ça onjia, ie nehoatl, nicmati, haçanelli, haçayuj, otitlacneli ca no te tiez: xonmitiçoquiuj, xonmjtichichiquj, ximoccaxinalitza, tlalli ic ximoujtequj, tlalli xiquipotoztiuetzi: vmpa ca tellhon, techachalli, ic xonmixtetzotzona, ic xonmjxtzotzona, cuzli tiquilaocuchoa: ximoiacatechichiquj, noce xonmococotlecoioni, vmpa tioalchichichaz, çan xinemj, ça tiuhquj xinemj.

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Auh maciuj yn iuhquj hin intlatol mochicoaia

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9. "*Almenarado, ada, almenarada, cabello largo que dexan a un lado dela cabeça alos ninos quando los rrapan[sic]*" (Molina, *op. cit.*). *Arellanado* (*op. cit.*, Spanish-Nahuatl section) is translated as "*Cabello rrompenose y rredundar del cabello de la muger.*"

10. *Chapopotli*, see Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. III, pp. 72, 205.

11. In view of the double meanings which make this passage difficult to put into English, reference to Isaac Pacheco de Sahagún's *Historia* is helpful. A sentence in the Bancroft edition (Vol. I, p. 171) translates "*los cabellos y cauelleras y mechachos; todos aquellos que tienen cabellos de cabellos en el copete, que llamauan coxcoxpalque.*" Further on (Vol. II, pp. 111-2), "*Las grandes y pobrezas por donde cabian los que tenian de llegar a las mugeres deyxtidades, eran estas que se siguen: cauallo cruo, pequeñoabuguidolone cauallodos o cuarenda los cabeos, y llegando a los dos cabos deyxtidade cruce una cuelga de cabellos en el copete, o la mad cbos llamadoos tuccoxpalios; o los quienes cbos tenian ya aquellos cuelga larga, y llamadoos coxpalchichiquil, porque cbos tenyanos esos cauallos habian los dos en la copete; y si en la guerra acauada que ll y cuno, o, ll y cbos dos o tres, o cuda cauallos o algunos de los enemigos, quedando la cuelga de los cabellos, y aquello era señal de honra.*

"*Y cuando quedaua la cuelga del cabellillo, deyxlando una cuelga sobre la oreya derecha, que le cubria la oreya o cubo en lado que era el derecho, y con esto parecia que tenia esta preseruia mas honrada, que era señal que era compañia de otros hubia cautiuado o alguno; y por haber cautiuado con sus compañeros, y haber deyxlado la cuelga en señal de honra, le saludauan con alaudos o con los diuisados: Nican mauiz, han tiuquin la cara al cel, y la tierra: ya tienes otro esto; porque te hiziste y te esforçaste a cautiuar en compañia de otros: otro que te saludaba cada pendiente y que le apuntauan los cuerpos, que en que otro con cautiuado en compañia de otros, porque si esto fuese pondrianse otro cuelga de la parte de la otra oreya, que pareciesse mas fuerte, y todo se saludaba mucho que cautiuauan assi.*"

See also Lib. VIII, cap. xxi.

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us men, they were vain, they were only weak words. For in truth (thus the women could torment [young men] into war; thus they moved and provoked them; thus the women prodded them into battle.

For we men said:

"Bloody, painful are the words of the women; bloody, heart-rending are the words of the women. Let us be on our way; let us offer ourselves as warriors. Friends, perchance we may attain reward."

X 796 [346]

And when [the young girls] went carrying upon their backs the maize god[desses], as they took them to Chicome coatl's temple, [the ears of maize] were made hearts. They became the granary's heart; in the maize-bin they laid them.

And when seed was sown, when it was the time for planting, this they sowed, [which] they had made into seed. They made seed maize of it.

And they made and instituted this feast for Chicome coatl.

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They formed her image like a woman. They said: "Yea, verily, this one is our sustenance"; that is to say, she is truly our flesh, our livelihood; through her we live and are strong. If she [were] not, we should die of hunger.

For he who eateth no *xuchillat*, he then fainteth; he falleth down; he droppeth quickly; there is a twittering as of birds in his ears: darkness descendeth upon him.

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And it is said, it is this Chicome coatl who maketh all our food—

white maize; yellow maize; green maize shoots;[10] black maize,[11] black and brown mixed, and variously hued;[12] large and wide; round and ball-like; slender maize; thin, long maize; speckled red and white maize,[13] which hath blood-red lines and is [as if] painted with blood,

then, the coarse, brown maize,[14] which is as if tawny in appearance; popcorn;[15] the after-fruit;[16] double ears; rough ears; and maturing green maize;

toquichti, ca çanenpanca, ca ça in tonauhcatlatol: ca uel ic quimonnitoteponia in cioa iaoc, ic teiolitonoa, ic teiolloa, ic teiollo tlacujnia in cioa, in iaoc.

Ca quitoa, in toquichti

eço tecoco, yn jntlatol cioa, eço teittic acic in cioatlatolli, ca otiaque, ça otiquitoque, yn ahtinemizque: aço itla tomaceoal tocnjuhtze.

Auh in quimamatiuj in cicinteuh, yn oquitquja ieuapan chicome coatl, tlaiollotl muchioa: incuezcomaiollo muchioa, cuezcomac contema.

Auh yn iquac tetoco, in ie toquizpā, icheatl quitocaia quixinachioaia, quixinachioa.

Auh injn quilhuitlaltia, quilhuichiujlia in chicome coatl:

iuhquin cioatl quitlaliaia ixiptla. Quitoaia, ca uel icheatl in tonacaiotl: iuhq'nma quijtomequi, ca nel tonacaio, tonenca, ic tioltinemj, tooapaoaca: intlacamo icheatl, ca tapizmiquizque.

Ca yn oquin, atle quiqua tlaxcalli, ca njman çotlana, vetzi, meciuhtiuetzi, ynacaz, yicaoaca, tlaioalli ipā inomana:

yoan mjtoa, ca in icheatl chicome coatl, ca quichioa yn inquich tonacaiotl:

in iztac tlaolli, in cozic tlaolli, in xiuhtotli, yiauitl, yiuhnenel, iuhcacalqui, tlaolpatlachtli, in totoiautic. in tlaolpiçilli, tlaolpitzaoac: in xochicintli, ynjn iuhquin eoaoanqui, escujcujtic:

njman iee in quappachcintli: iuhquin quappachtli, itlachielitz, momochicintli, in molqujtl, cinmaitl, cintzazapalli: yoan in xilotl, in cacamotl, in elotl:

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12. A gloss in the Aztec text of Lib. XI. cap. xii. of the *Florentine Codex* defines *uiuhtotli* as "*Pan de maiz morado tendido, pegado y amontonado.*"

13. "*Espigas de maiz mayzes*" (loc. cit.). Molina (*op. cit.*) says "*mayz mayzoa o mayzes.*"

14. *Iuhquin* (*loc. cit.*) defines *xiuhtotli* as "*Espigas de maiz por desenvainar colorado.*"

15. No gloss appears in *loc. cit.* The National text reads: "*momochintli cinmaitl tlapalcuauhqui, tlapalcuauhtic tlacuxcalhuia, tlacuxcalhuiaque, tlacuxcalhuiz, tlacuxcalhuiztli, tlacuxcalhuiztic, tlacuxcalhuiztiaz, tlacuxcalhuiztiaque, tlacuxcalhuiztiuh, tlacuxcalhuiztiuhque.*"

16. *Loc. cit.* has "*Espigas de maiz lenguados.*" In the Rotunda edition, Vol. III, p. 102, there is reference to "*diversas maneras de maiz que tienen ancheo y estendido, y lenguado, que en la Lengua es llamado tzompanelli, tzompanchinolli, quappachcintli.*" A gloss in the *Florentine Codex* (*loc. cit.*) says, however, that *tzompanelli* are "*Espigas de maiz que nacen de dos en dos.*" In Simeon (*op. cit.*) *quappachtli* is given as "*cabeza de venado*" or "*cuero*". Molina (*op. cit.*) has "*cuero levantado, o cuadro mostrado.*" For *quappachcintli*, Simeon has "*mala yerba de hojas, que servian à poner los emplastos provocativos de la hinchazon de los testiculos.*"

17. Durán (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 90) defines *momochtli* as "*maiz tostado y reventado*," and on fo. 37r of the *Florentine Codex*, Lib. II, Sahagún states that it is "*maiz tostado . . . que cada grano se revuna como flor blanquisima.*"

18. *Rodrigo de Aucuna* (Molina, *op. cit.*).

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When fifteen years old, the youth was placed in charge of certain chiefs[19] (the "telpuchtlato" or "achcacautin") who kept them under their oversight until they married. They were educated in communities "for the service of the tribe and for warlike purposes;"[20] were allowed, even at the age of fifteen, to go to war either armed or as carriers only,[21] and had their respective "school houses" ("telpuchcalco," houses of the youth); one in each of the four quarters of Mexico which formed the basis of the tribe's military organization, as we shall hereafter see. At these houses they were gradually trained to the handling of weapons.[22]

There were no regular times set for military practice. But every twenty days, at least, there occurred a religious festival, at which the warriors appeared in full costume, and, their chiefs included, they "skirmished," showing and practicing their skill in handling arms.[23] The youth were not only invited to such occa-

[19] Idem: "A quinze ans, le père présente deux fils à deux différents maîtres du temple et du *collège militaire*, . . . " The boy (Mexican "pilitonth") then became a youth ("telpuchtli"—Alonzo de Molina. "Vocabulario en lengua Mexicana y castellana." Mexico, 1571. Parte IIa, p. 97).

[20] Bernardino de Sahagun ("Historia universal de las cosas de Nueva España," in vol. VII, of Lord Kingsborough, lib. III. Appendix, cap. IV, p. 118. "Y asi ofrecian "la criatura, á la casa de telpuchcalli; era su intencion que alli se criase con los otros "mancebos para servicio del pueblo y cosas de guerra." Also cap. V, 119). Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, p. 124. "Los otros se criaban como en capitanias, porque en cada "barrio habia un capitan de ellos, llamado telpuchtlato, que quiere decir "guarda ó "capitan de los mancebos. . . . . Tambien tenian por si su comunidad, sus casas "y tierras, etc., etc.") Telpuchtlato signifies "Speaker to the youth" (from "Telpuchtli," youth, and "tlatoani," speaker. Molina, II, p. 141). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. III). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XXVII, p. 444. Para este efecto avia en los templos casa "particular de niños, como escuela, o pupilaje distincto del de los moços y moças del "tempio"). Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXI, p. 121 and LXXVIII, p. 134). "Telpuchcalli" is derived from "telpuchtli," youth, and "calli," house. The "achcauhtli," to which we shall refer hereafter, are variously designated, even as priests (by Mendieta), as "captains of the guard" (by Torquemada), as "an officer, to whom they (the youth) were entrusted" (by Clavigero).

[21] Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, p. 124). "Some of these youth, the strongest ones, "went to war, and the others, also, went to see how the force practiced at arms." Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXI, p. 131) "and all the youth examined, such as had not gone, went "along, carrying arms and supplies, and to become encouraged by the feats they might "witness."

[22] Mexico divided into four "calpulli" ("barrios"), each of which had its "telpuchcalli,"—"where the achcacauhtin showed and taught them the use of arms and how "to combat valorously." (Tezozomoc, cap. LXXI and LXXVIII, p. 134.)

[23] For the long list of religious festivals of the Mexicans, ordinary as well as extraordinary, we beg to refer to almost any one of the authors of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, on Mexico. As to the military displays and exercises during the feast, I refer particularly to Antonio de Herrera ("Historia general de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y la Tierra Firme del Mar Oceano." Edition of 1726. Decada II. lib. VII, cap. XI, p. 187). "Nobody was allowed to carry arms about the city, but only "to war, to the chase, or when on guard to the King. On days of festivities, and at

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796 sions, but their presence was obligatory, that they might see and
● 702 learn. Besides, as often as war was proclaimed, a general muster
[721] and rehearsal was held at each quarter.[24] We have no detailed report of such exercises, of the evolutions, if any, carried out by the warriors, but an incident of the history of Mexico may furnish us with an approximate picture. When, in 1473, the tribe of Tlat-
702 ilulco, independent at that time from Mexico, agreed upon attacking the latter, they practised beforehand, and with as much secrecy as possible.[25] Setting up posts of hard wood, they beat against them with their swords and clubs; they sped arrows and threw darts at thick wooden planks, and lastly they went out into the lake and shot at birds flying.[26] This *may* be supposed an illustration of the manner in which the Mexicans practised at arms.

702 These exercises partaking, frequently at least, of a religious
726 character, they ordinarily took place at the squares surrounding
712 temples, more particularly in the great place of the chief "house of God" ("teo-calli") of Mexico.[27] Immediately preceding a foray or campaign, warriors and youth aggregated there also, not only to practice, but especially to receive their weapons out of the

"other times appointed, the latter caused the young men to practice at arms, that they "might be ready for war. He even set out premiums to those who would distinguish "themselves, and not only was present, but sometimes used the bow and sword, taking "part in the exercises." Also to Torquemada (Lib. X, cap. XIV, p. 256, of 2d volume, but especially cap. XI, p. 252. "En esta fiesta hacian alardes, y escaramuças todos los "Soldados y Hombres de Guerra, donde cada qual pretendia aventajarse al otro; y se "mostraban muy valientes, y esforçados; de donde nàcia señalarse muchos, y aventu-"rarse á casos muy peligrosos"), and Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXXI, p. 143).

[24] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXXIV, p. 147, and cap. XC).

[25] It is well known that the Mexicans had formerly divided into two tribes: the Mexicans proper, of Tenuchtitlan (Tenuchcas), and those of Tlatilulco. The latter never denied their common descent. At the time of their conspiracy to overthrow the Tenuchca they are said to have agreed upon: "that Mexicatl-Tenuchtitlan should be ob-"literated, and Tlatilulco-Mexico should become head of the world" (Tezozomoc, cap. XLI). It is not devoid of interest to know that, as late as 1473 (the year 7 "calli"), or only 48 years previous to the Spanish conquest, the very existence of the Mexican power became seriously threatened by a small tribe, subsisting as an independent people within musket range of Mexico. This fact, and the negotiations of the Tlatilulca with the other tribes of the valley, at that period, furnish one of the best illustrations of the loose manner in which all the tribes subject to Mexico at the time of Cortés were bound to the Mexicans. After the overthrow of the Tlatilulcans by Axayácatl of Mexico, their pueblo became the fifth "quarter" (calpulli), and under Spanish rule it bore the name of "Santiago."

[26] Tezozomoc (Cap. XLI). Durán (Cap. XXXIII, pp. 230 and 200). According to the latter, they at first practised with the sling, throwing stones against a wooden image; he does not mention the use of the sword or club, only missiles. Otherwise, both authors agree perfectly.

[27] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXXIV, p. 147). Herrera (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. II, p. 187, of 1st volume).

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public storehouses connected with the temples of each tribal subdivision.[28]

The name given to these public store-houses was "houses of darts" (tlacochcalco).[29] They were, probably, not limited to the immediate vicinity of the chief temple, but each subdivision of the pueblo had its "house of darts" as well as its central "teocalli."[30] The following description of an aboriginal Mexican "pueblo," furnished by a missionary who arrived in New-Spain as early as

[28] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXI, p. 131. Immediately preceding the foray against Xoconocheo, "each day the youth went to the quarters, to practise at the school of arms, "telpuchcalco . . . . " *Idem*, cap. LXXVIII, p. 134). The *Anonymous Conquerer*, whose relation is contained in vol. I of Sr. Icazbalceta's "Col. de Documentos." both in the original Italian taken from Ramusio ("Relatione di alcune cose della Nuova "Spagna, & Della Gran Citta di Temestitan Messico, fatta per uno Gentil' homo del "Signor Fernando Cortese"), and in the Spanish translation by the distinguished Mexican scholar, says (p. 394, "Dei tempii, é Meschite che havevano"): "Before they left "(for war), they all went to the principal *mosque* ("meschita maggiore"—main teocalli) "and provided themselves with the arms stored over the main entrances" (of the square around the temple). We have few positive indications as to the true situation of the store-houses, beyond that they were probably connected with the "school, houses" ("telpuchcalco"), and therefore with the temples. Torquemada, who gives an elaborate description of the chief temple of Mexico (Lib. VIII, of 2d volume), says (Cap. XI, p. 146): "and at each one of the four entrances to the court of the temple- "there was an extensive (very large) hall, connected with numerous rooms and closets, "high as well as low, which served as houses of arms, where these were kept together "with the ammunition. For, as they regarded the temples as their strongest places, "and their retreats in case of danger, they held there their arms and means of defence." He further mentions, under the uncouth name of "Tlacochcalcoacatiyacapan," "an- "other hall . . . . Here they kept a quantity of arrows (or darts, 'saetas') which "were made every year, and there deposited until wanted." See also Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXVII). Gomara (Vedia, I. "El templo de Méjico," p. 349). "At each door (of "the four) of the court of the principal temple there was a large hall surrounded by "high and low additions. These were filled with arms, like public and communal "houses, for the temples were the strongholds of each pueblo, and therefore contained "the arms and ammunition." Of course the square of the great "teocalli" of Mexico attracted principal attention.

[29] "Tlacochalco," or "Tlacochcalli," derives from "tlacochtli," dart, and "calli," house.

[30] Every author concedes that there were several "houses of arms" at Mexico. Bernal-Diez says there were two (Cap. XCI, p. 87, of vol. II, Vedia). Gomara ("Casas de armas," Vedia, I, p. 345) says: "Montezuma had some (rather 'several' 'algunas') houses of arms, whose blazon were a bow and two quivers over each door." Herrera (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. XI, p. 196) says; "he had, not one, but many houses for the "keeping and storage of arms;" (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. XVII, p. 197) he copies almost textually Gomara's statement about the halls over the entrances of the court to the temple of Mexico, and adds also, like Gomara, "porque los templos, aliende de que "servian de casas de Oracion, eran las Fortaleças con que en tiempo de Guerra mas se "defendian, i tenian en ellos la municion, i Almacen." Previously he says (p. 196): "There were many temples in Mexico; according to the parishes, or quarters, of which "there were many." See also Motolinia (Trat. III, cap. VIII, p. 186): "porque tenian "muchas casas de varas con sus puntas de pedernal, etc., etc." It shows that the storehouses *were distributed over the pueblo, and not only limited to the main temple.* Cortés, when he burnt Quauhpopoca, emptied for that purpose the arsenals of the main

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The war-chiefs proper furnished the higher commanders of the Mexicans. We meet with three classes thereof in ascending orders. The chiefs of *kindred*, or *captains;* also chief of the "*minor quarters.*" The chiefs of the great subdivisions (*principal quarters*); also mentioned as "captain-generals." The head war-chief of the *tribe*, or so-called "king." All these chiefs were *elected*, and their office was not transmissible by inheritance.[90]

The captains, "commanders of the quarters,"[91] teachers of the young "men,"[92] properly called "elder brothers"[93] ("*teachcauhtin*," or "achcacauhtin," and "tiacanes," by corruption), commanded the subdivisions of two to four hundred men each, com-

these subdivisions had its peculiar place of sitting in the official house, or "tecpan" (the "palace" of the older sources). Tecpan derives from "tecuhtli," chief, and "pan," affixum denoting a place), since, at a general council of the tribe (of which this may be an indication), the different grades of warriors would naturally cluster together. But the names given to these three "orders" are erroneous. "Achcauhtin" (which, as we shall see, never meant *princes*, for which the Mexicans had no adequate word) was the title of a class of war-chiefs only. "Quauhtin" is the "Cuachic," "ocelotl" evidently the "tequihua." But the last two titles were never used for the higher grades of warriors except in a general way; "quauhtin-ocelotl" designated the valorous braves in general (Torquemada, Lib. XI, cap. XXIX, p. 362; lib. XIV, cap. II, p. 537), and corresponds to the "daring eagles, tigers, and lions," as Tezozomoc often calls the three grades now under discussion.

Torquemada, who, notwithstanding his unquestionable credulity, is extremely important on all questions of Mexican antiquities, says (Lib. XIV, cap. V, p. 543): "Los Capitanes tenian por insignia de honra una labor, etc., etc., ... guarnecidas, con "pinturas, e' insignias, conforme cada uno havia mostrado el valor, y valentia en las "guerras, en que se havia hallado, porque no sacaba otra cosa del peligro de ellas; y "assi como cosa ganada, por sus propriae personas, las estimaban en mucho." Every one had to gain his own rank, merit his own title. [555]

[90] All these offices were elective, and we shall endeavor to prove it in each particular case.

[91] Ternaux-Compans ("Recueil de pieces relatives à la conquête du Mexique." Anonymous MSS. from the Uguina collection, headed "De l'ordre de succession observé "par les Indiens relativement a leurs terres et de leurs territoires communaux," p. 223) says: "Les tribunaux de ces officiers étaient établis dans la capitale." Clavigero calls them "princes." Torquemada: "captain of the guards." Sahagun: "old men." Mendieta, even: "chief abbott." This very confusion shows that neither of them paid much attention to the subject, since Sahagun also calls the "tiacauh" (which is the same as "achcacauhtin") "el hombre valiente" (Lib. IX, cap. VI, p. 263), and Torquemada the "achcauhtli," "alguacil maior." Tezozomoc alone is consistent with himself, in mentioning the "achcacauhtin," frequently, as *leaders in the fight*, commanding the three grades of distinguished braves (Cap. XXXVIII). He is confirmed by Molina (I, p. 25), who translates "teachcauhtin" as "capitan de gente." Tezozomoc further calls them: "principals, masters at arms, and of doctrine and example" (Cap. XXXVIII, p. 61), "chiefs of the quarters, masters of the youth" (Cap. LVII).

[92] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVIII and cap. LVII).

[93] Molina (II, p. 113), "tiachcauh,"—"hermano mayor, y persona, o cosa aventajada, "mayor, y mas excelente que otra." Zurita ("Rapport," p. 90) calls the "chiefs of the calpullis" major parents ("pariente mayor"). This corresponds with the definition of Molina.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

701 posed,[94] as we have seen, of "the able-bodied men (priests ex-
702 cepted) of one particular group of kindred;" said group forming a sub-division of the four principal quarters of Mexico. Besides leading their files in combat, it was their duty when at home, to instruct the youth of their section in the use and practice of arms. They held their office for life, or as long as they gave satisfaction.[95]

[293] As an exterior token of their rank the "captains" wore large ear-rings and lip-pendants of richer material than their predecessors, and carried rods or staffs in their hands when on duty.[96]

701 619 A certain number of these captains, corresponding to the "minor quarters" or groups of kindred contained in the principal quarter to which they belonged, were under the direction of the *war-chief*, or as the Spanish authors call him, the "captain-general" *of that largest subdivision of the tribe.* There were consequently *four* chiefs of that rank at Mexico,[97] and it is probable that a fifth one was added to them not long before the conquest, to command the warriors of Tlatilulco.[98]

701 Beyond the mere facts of their existence, of their being always elected for life-time, and a strong supposition that their titles are given by all authorities, without stating it positively, however, little is known unfortunately, about these chieftains.[99] They were

[94] Sahagun (Lib. IX, cap. VI, p. 264). "El maestro de campo o capitan es de esta "calidad, que para mostrar su oficio trae coleta cabellos que cuelga atras, y bezote y "orejeras, y trae siempre sus armas consigo." (The latter is doubtful, *at least.*)

[95] Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 216). In regard to their eligibility, see Ternaux-Compans ("Recueil de Pièces," "De l'ordre de succession," p. 235), "Il n'y avait pas d'autres élections d'officiers." Although untrue in regard to the "other officers." Zurita ("Rapport," p. 61). "The election takes place among themselves."

[96] Durán (Cap. XIX, p. 169), "luego salieron los viejos que tenian oficios de ordenar "la gente de guerra, que eran como maestres de campo, con sus bastones en las manos "y unas cintas apretadas á la caueça y unas orejeras de concha, largas, y unas bezotes "en los labios, muy bien armados, y empeçaron á componer la gente." Also, Sahagun (Lib. IX, cap. VI, p. 264).

[97] Tezozomoc (Cap. XCI, p. 161): "Cuauhnoctli took charge to assemble together "the four leaders of the four quarters, for that the arms might be ready." The origin of these four titles and dignities dates back to the successful foray against Cuyuacan (under Itzcoatl); at least, *then* they are first mentioned (Tezozomoc: Cap. XV, p. 24, and Durán: Cap. XI, p. 97). As members of the council of chiefs, they appear, however, always as "principal chiefs" only. Tezozomoc being the only one who, to our knowledge, speaks of the "leaders of the four quarters" ("cuatro caudillos de los cuatro barrios").

[98] Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. LXX, p. 409) speaks of "Itzquauhtin, señor de Tlatilulco," as companion of Montezuma during the latter's captivity among the Spaniards. He copies from Sahagun (Lib. XII).

[99] It is a very singular fact that the offices of these four principal war-chiefs should have attracted so little attention, but we may account for it by the prevailing assump-